

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-25

INFO OCT-01 NEA-10 IO-14 ISO-00 CIAE-00 PM-07 INR-10 L-03

NSAE-00 PA-04 RSC-01 PRS-01 SPC-03 USIA-15 TRSE-00

SAM-01 SAJ-01 DODE-00 H-03 NSC-10 SS-20 ACDA-19 AF-10

CU-04 EB-11 COME-00 OMB-01 SCI-06 DRC-01 /181 W

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R 261500Z FEB 74

FM USMISSION NATO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4270

INFO ALL NATO CAPITALS 3745

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY VIENNA

USMISSION EC BRUSSELS

USMISSION GENEVA

USMISSION BERLIN

AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV

USINT CAIRO

C O N F I D E N T I A L USNATO 1041

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, NATO

SUBJECT: GROMYKO VISIT TO FRANCE FEBRUARY 15-18

GENEVA FOGM USDEL CSCE

VIENNA FOR USDEL MBFR

REF: USNATO 1035 NOTAL

BEGIN SUMMARY: AS REPORTED REFTEL, FRENCH DEL AT FEB 25

SPC MEETING CIRCULATED REPORT ON GROMYKO'S VISIT. INFORMAL

MISSION TRANSLATION FOLLOWS BELOW. PRINCIPALS POINTS WERE

AS FOLLOWS:

-- ON CSCE, GROMYKO COMPLAINED THAT SOME DELS WERE

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USING CBM'S TO BREAK THE WORK OF THE CONFERENCE, AND HE

RULED OUT THE POSSIBILITY THAT THE SOVIETS WOULD GIVE ACCOUNT OF

MILITARY ACTIVITIES IN THE EUROPEAN PART OF THE USSR. HE

ADDED THAT MOSCOW WOULD NOT PRESS THE IDEA OF A POST-CONFERENCE

CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE, IF THE OTHER CSCE PARTICIPANTS DID NOT FAVOR THIS IDEA.

-- ON EUROPEAN CONSTRUCTION, JOBERT REMARKED THAT THE POLITICAL AND MILITARY ASPECTS OF THE COMMUNITY WERE ONLY IN THE FORMATIVE STAGE.

-- ON THE MIDDLE EAST, GROMYKO THOUGHT THAT THE MILITARY DISENGAGEMENT AGREEMENT BETWEEN ISRAEL AND EGYPT CONTAINED CERTAIN WEAKNESSES.

-- ON BERLIN, GROMYKO BELIEVED THAT THE THREE WESTERN POWERS WISHED TO EXACERBATE MATTERS. END SUMMARY

BEGIN INFORMAL MISSION TRANSLATION:

MR. GROMYKO VISITED PARIS OFFICIALLY FROM THE 15TH TO 18TH FEBRUARY 1974. HE WAS RECEIVED BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC AND, ON FEBRUARY 15-16, HAD DISCUSSIONS WITH MR. JOBERT ON THE POINTS DISCUSSED BELOW, WHICH APART FROM THE QUESTIONS INVOLVING BILATERAL FRANCO-SOVIET RELATIONS.

CSCE

MR. GROMYKO RAISED THE QUESTION OF INVIOABILITY OF FRONTIERS WHICH HE SAID MUST BE THE OBJECT OF A NON-AMBIGUOUS FORMULATION, WITHOUT REFERENCE TO THE POSSIBILITY OF PEACEFUL CHANGE OF FRONTIERS.

THE SOVIET MINISTER EXPRESSED HIS DISSATISFACTION WITH THE SITUATION CONCERNING THE THIRD ITEM ON THE AGENDA. THE SOVIET UNION HAD EXPRESSED ITS SUPPORT FOR THE SOLUTION OF HUMANITARIAN PROBLEMS, THE DEVELOPMENT OF CULTURAL EXCHANGES, AND EVEN THE FREEDOM OF INFORMATION, WHICH MUST NATURALLY INCLUDE THE FREEDOM FOR EACH STATE TO ACCEPT OR REFUSE INFORMATION WHICH ONE WISHED TO DIRECT AGAINST IT. BUT THE USSR REJECTED ANY INTERFERENCE IN INTERNAL AFFAIRS AND DEMANDED THAT THIS PRINCIPLE BE INSCRIBED IN THE TEXTS WHICH WOULD BE ELABORATED
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BY THE CONFERENCE.

MR. GROMYKO ALSO COMPLAINED THAT CERTAIN COUNTRIES WERE USING CBM'S TO BRAKE THE WORK OF THE CONFERENCE. THERE WAS THE SUGGESTION THAT THE USSR GIVE ACCOUNT OF ITS MILITARY ACTIVITIES ON THE EUROPEAN PART OF ITS SOIL. THIS WAS OUT OF THE QUESTION. MR. JOBERT FOR HIS PART STRESSED THAT THE SOVIET DRAFT DECLARATION ON SECURITY WITH RESPECT TO MBFR WAS UNACCEPTABLE FOR FRANCE. MR. GROMYKO SAID THAT HE WAS PREPARED TO ADOPT A FLEXIBLE ATTITUDE ON THIS QUESTION.

MR. GROMYKO PRONOUNCED HIMSELF MOST STRONGLY ON THE QUESTION OF THE LEVEL OF THE THIRD PHASE OF THE CONFERENCE, RECALLING

VARIOUS ARGUMENTS TO JUSTIFY A SUMMIT. MR. JOBERT ANSWERED THAT ONE SHOULD AVOID RISKING THE CREDIBILITY AND REPUTATION OF HEADS OF STATE AND GOVERNMENT FOR A CONFERENCE WHICH DID NOT PRODUCE RESULTS OF A HIGH ORDER OF IMPORTANCE. HE LET IT BE KNOWN THAT, GIVEN THE ATTITUDE ADOPTED BY THE SOVIET SIDE, ONE COULD HENCEFORTH ESTIMATE THAT THE LIKELY RESULTS OF THE CONFERENCE WOULD BE RELATIVELY MODEST. IT APPEARED THAT THE CSCE WOULD ONLY BE A STEP TOWARDS FURTHER PROGRESS. AS FOR FOLLOW-UP ACTIVITIES, THIS COULD CONSIST SIMPLY OF A MEETING OF OFFICIALS AFTER A PERIOD OF SOME YEARS, IN ORDER TO OBSERVE HOW THE DECISIONS OF THE CSCE HAD BEEN IMPLEMENTED.

ON THIS LAST POINT, MR. GROMYKO RECALLED THAT HIS GOVERNMENT HAD BEEN IN FAVOR OF THE IDEA OF CREATING A COMMITTEE WHICH IT SAW AS PURELY CONSULTATIVE AND NOT AS A DECISION-TAKING ORGAN. BUT THE USSR WAS NOT PURSUING ANY PARTICULAR INTEREST IN THIS REGARD, AND IF THE OTHER PARTICIPANTS WERE NOT IN AGREEMENT WITH THE SUGGESTION, IT WOULD UNDERSTAND.

GENERALLY, MR. GROMYKO COMPLAINED A GREAT DEAL OVER THE SLUGGISHNESS OF THE WORK OF THE SECOND PHASE AND BLAMED THE WESTERN COUNTRIES FOR A LACK OF SPIRIT OF COOPERATION AND A DESIRE TO SLOW DOWN THE NEGOTIATIONS. MR. JOBERT ASSURED HIS COLLEAGUE OF THE DESIRE OF THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT TO CONTRIBUTE TO THE EARLIEST POSSIBLE CONCLUSION OF THE WORK. HE UNDERLINED THAT A GOOD RESULT ASSUMED COMPROMISE ON THE PART OF ALL PARTIES.

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MR. JOBERT EXPLAINED IN GENERAL TERMS THE PROBLEMS INVOLVED IN EUROPEAN CONSTRUCTION. DEFENDING HIS RIGHT TO CRITICIZE THE COMMON MARKET, MR. GROMYKO OBSERVED THAT A "NEW GROUP" WAS IN THE PROCESS OF BEING BORN AND HE ASKED WHAT PLACE THE FRG WOULD HAVE IN THIS GROUP. THE FRENCH FOREIGN MINISTER REPLIED THAT WHILE THE COMMUNITY WAS UNCONTESTABLY A REALITY, ITS POLITICAL AND MILITARY ASPECTS WERE ONLY IN THE FORMATIVE STAGE. MR. GROMYKO ALSO SEEMED TO REGRET THAT CONTACT BETWEEN THE EEC AND COMECON WAS TRICKLING INTO THE SAND. FOR HIS PART, MR. JOBERT INDICATED THAT FRANCE HAD NO OBJECTION IN PRINCIPLE TO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF SUCH CONTACTS.

MIDDLE EAST

MR. GROMYKO INDICATED THAT THE MILITARY DISENGAGEMENT BETWEEN ISRAEL AND EGYPT CONTAINED WEAKNESSES, PRINCIPALLY THAT IT WAS NOT INCORPORATED IN AN OVERALL SETTLEMENT CONNECTING THE SUCCESSIVE PHASES. UNDER THESE CONDITIONS, THE USSR DID NOT BELIEVE THAT IT COULD FOR THE MOMENT ASSUME RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE OUTCOME OF THESE ARRANGEMENTS. IT CONTINUED TO DEMAND THE WITHDRAWAL OF ALL ISRAELI FORCES FROM ALL THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES. THE SOVIET MINISTER DID NOT QUESTION THE US ROLE AND REFRAINED FROM CRITICIZING

THE MECHANISM ESTABLISHED IN GENEVA. HE INDICATED THAT THE DATE OF HIS TRIP TO THE MIDDLE EAST HAD NOT YET BEEN ESTABLISHED.

BERLIN

MR. GROMYKO CONSIDERED THE BEHAVIOR OF THE FRG, PARTICULARLY THE CREATION OF THE ENVIRONMENT OFFICE, IN CONTRADICTION WITH THE FOUR POWER AGREEMENT ON BERLIN. HE REGRETTED THAT THE THREE WESTERN POWERS HAD NOT BROUGHT PRESSURE ON BONN. "THE USSR AND THE GDR WOULD HAVE TO DRAW THE APPROPRIATE CONSEQUENCES FROM THE SITUATION."

THE FRENCH MINISTER RESPONDED THAT THERE WAS A PROBLEM OF INTERPRETATION OF TEXTS. FRANCE DID NOT CONSIDER THE CREATION OF THE ENVIRONMENT OFFICE AS PROHIBITED. ON THE OTHER HAND, THE GDR'S HARRASSMENTS OF ACCESS ROUTES WAS UNQUESTIONABLY SO.

MR. GROMYKO DID NOT SEEM SATISFIED WITH THIS RESPONSE, REGRETTING THIS CHEAPENING "OF POSITIONS OF PRINCIPLE" AND AFFIRMING
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THAT THE THREE WESTERN POWERS "WISH TO EXACERBATE QUESTIONS RELATIVE TO BERLIN."

MR. GROMYKO INVITED MINISTER AND MRS. JOBERT TO VISIT MOSCOW.

END TEXT. RUMSFELD

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